

Message Text

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S/S - MR. MOFFAT

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

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FOR FUNSETH FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MARVIN KALB ON SALT

NO. 5

TEXT OF FIRST LINE REPORT, MAY 20, 1976, FOLLOWS.

"IT IS ALMOST FOUR YEARS AGO THAT RICHARD NIXON AND
LEONID BREZHNEV SIGNED THE FIRST STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT
BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IN A QUICK BUT GLITTERING
CEREMONY LATE ONE NIGHT IN THE KREMLIN, DURING MR. NIXON'S
FIRST VISIT TO MOSCOW AS PRESIDENT. FOUR YEARS AGO.
IT SEEMS MORE LIKE FORTY. ANOTHER ERA, ANOTHER SET OF
PRIORITIES DURING A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

AT THAT TIME, THE IDEA OF GETTING ALONG WITH THE RUSSIANS
MADE GOOD POLITICAL SENSE. SO NIXON THOUGHT, AND HE WAS
RIGHT. IN FACT, HE EXPANDED THE IDEA TO INCLUDE GETTING
ALONG WITH THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS, EVEN TRYING TO MAKE A
DEAL WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN INDOCHINA. AND THE AMERICAN
PEOPLE RESPONDED. NIXON WON IN NOVEMBER, 1972, OVERWHELM-
INGLY. BUT HE WAS FORCED TO RESIGN IN DISGRACE IN LESS
THAN TWO YEARS, A VICTIM OF HIS OWN MISCALCULATIONS AND
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DECEPTION DURING THE WATERGATE COVERUP (BUT THAT) DOES NOT

INVALIDATE HIS JUDGMENT ABOUT THE GENERAL POPULARITY OF EAST-WEST DETENTE.

"USUALLY AFTER SOVIET-AMERICAN SUMMIT MEETINGS, A PRESIDENT'S STANDING WITH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SKYROCKETS, A REFLECTION OF THE SIMPLE FACT IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE, PEOPLE LIKE THE IDEA OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHAIRMAN GETTING TOGETHER AND AT LEAST LOOKING AS THOUGH THEIR COUNTRIES ARE WORKING FOR PEACE. ISN'T IT ODD, THEN, THAT DETENTE IS ON THE DEFENSIVE DURING THIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN? IT IS NOT HARD TO FIGURE OUT WHY. MR. FORD'S MAJOR CHALLENGE STILL COMES FROM THE CONSERVATIVE WING OF HIS PARTY, THE WING NOW DOMINATED BY FORMER CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR RONALD REAGAN. EVEN THOUGH THE PRESIDENT WON IN MICHIGAN AND MARYLAND THIS WEEK, THERE IS NO SIGN THAT HE INTENDS TO EMBRACE DETENTE ONCE AGAIN. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME OFFICIALS AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAY, 'NO SIGNING CEREMONIES CONTEMPLATED IN THE NEAR FUTURE ON THE TREATY ALREADY INITIALED TO LIMIT PEACEFUL UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS.' THAT IS THE SAME TREATY THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS SUPPOSED TO SIGN LAST WEEK, THEN THIS WEEK -- NOW, IT'S NOT CLEAR WHEN.

"SECRETARY KISSINGER AND SOVIET AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN MET LAST FRIDAY TO DISCUSS AMONG OTHER THINGS THEIR CONTINUING EFFORT TO CONTROL STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IF A BREAKTHROUGH WAS SCORED, IT IS ONE OF THE BEST KEPT SECRETS IN TOWN. WHEN THE PRESIDENT MET BREZHNEV IN VLADIVOSTOK IN 1974, IT WAS AGREED THEN THAT BOTH SIDES WOULD COMPLETE THE NEGOTIATION WITHIN ABOUT 6 MONTHS, AND BREZHNEV WOULD THEN COME TO THE UNITED STATES IN MID-1975 TO SIGN THE TREATY. THE NEGOTIATION WAS NOT COMPLETED FOR A VARIETY OF REASONS, AND BREZHNEV'S TRIP WAS POSTPONED TO THE END OF 1975. THEN, POSTPONED ONCE AGAIN TO THE EARLY PART OF 1976. NOW, IT'S NOT CLEAR WHEN HE MIGHT COME AND KISSINGER, IN A RECENT INTERVIEW, ENGAGED IN SOME TYPICALLY NEGATIVE KIND OF OPTIMISM BY PREDICTING THAT IT'S PROBABLE THAT A NEW SALT AGREEMENT WILL BE REACHED BY OCTOBER OF NEXT YEAR, 1977; MEANING NO SALT AGREEMENT THIS YEAR, IN PART, BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT STILL APPEARS TO

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BE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT REAGAN'S ATTACKS ON HIS FOREIGN POLICY.

"THE CONVERSE, IF TRUE, IS THAT HIS FOREIGN POLICY HAS BECOME THE HOSTAGE OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF HIS POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. THIS IS OF COURSE DENIED, BUT THE EVIDENCE SUGGEST IT'S TRUE. KISSINGER IS NOW IN OSLO, NORWAY, FOR A MINISTERIAL MEETING OF NATO REPRESENTING A

FOREIGN POLICY IN SUSPENSION, FROZEN -- WAITING FOR THE
CAMPAIGN TO ALLOW FOR NEW INITIATIVES. RHETORIC, YES;

ACTION, NOT YET."
ROBINSON

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